Leicester, Massachusetts, Sept. 7. 1849.

Dear Mr. Estlin,

I am aware of having too long delayed reply to your kind and most acceptable letter written at Alderney, July 10th, and which I received the 7th of August. How I should have liked to look in upon you in your quiet seclusion; I have a fancy for such out-of-the-way places, though I have never visited many of them. On the New England Coast, or within a short day's sail of it, are several such islands, where have been preserved almost unchanged, from their first settlement, the peculiar habits & language of the people. When I was anticipating my voyage & visit to England, it was a part of my plan to go to the Isle of Man, if possible, & also to the Channel Islands, one or more; but all this I had to relinquish. I trust that both yourself and Miss Estlin, to whom please offer our warmest regards, have been much benefitted by your Summer's sojourn in Alderney; by this time, I suppose, you are at home again.– I have no good reason to give for not writing before, & replying to your suggestion about the French transln. of Douglass; I hope it may not be quite too late for you to do what you proposed about it – in part at least. Before replying to your letter, on this point, I thought I would get Miss Weston's views. I accordingly informed her of your plan (to which Miss Parkes had kindly assented) adding that I thought it not advisable to withdraw a very large number of the work from what seemed its appropriate sphere, and that I judged 4 dozen, or 50, copies as many as it would be best for us here to have; and I said I thought the work might readily be sold in France, if some special effort were made to that end. She replied, "I think with you that it would be a great pity to withdraw Douglass's Life from its proper sphere. Two dozen copies might, I should think, be sent to the Boston Fair with advantage, but no more. A little exertion might certainly dispose of the French edition on the spot. I wish we had known of this before the sitting of the Peace Convention in Paris, as I should think that on that occasion a great number might be disposed of. – I will write to Mrs. Chapman respecting this, & I doubt not she will take suitable action, & try to make some arrangement by which they may be sold." I gave Miss W. Pagnerre's address, also the name of J. Oswald Murray.

Your Alderney letter acknowledged mine of 21st May; since which I have written you twice – 5th June, by Miss Emma Weston, with Judge Jay's volume on the Mexican War, & July 3d (with a parcel) by Rev. Jas. F. Clarke. Both of these, I think, were to be left for you at Chapman's
Lloyd

I was much pleased with the seal-motto of the letter Dr. Hutton wrote to me last spring, –
"Quhat say they?
Doe ye weel,
And lat them say."
So I say! Wisdom, & Truth, will be justified of her children.

Cuba. France. Kossuth. Cummings. [illegible]
J. Barker. Father Mathew. Dr. Hutton.
N.Y. Vigilance com.
Rev. H. Hincks

I am strongly of the conviction that I received your letter by the "Mary Jane", but I do not lay my hand upon it now. It may be - very likely is - among my papers in Boston.

You will have seen what our Southern *brethren* are doing about Cuba; a very extensive plan has been laid, *ostensibly* to aid the people of that island in throwing off the Spanish yoke (!); *really*, to seize the island, and, instead of casting *off* yokes, fasten tighter the *yoke of slavery*, and in a worse form than even the slavery now existing in Cuba, upon the present black population there, with as many more as American cupidity and 'enterprise' can add to the number. This is all of a piece with the Texas, New Mexico, and California business; ~~[illegible]~~ immense thefts, done up in half-picaroon, half-pedlar fashion. Genl. Worth, it is said, had agreed to conduct the expedition, provided the aid of ~~the~~ United States citizens was requested in Cuba: all of which would have been arranged easily. Genl. Worth was carried off by Cholera, or something like it. — Was it not remarkable that Polk, Worth, Gaines, all prominent men in this high handed plunder of Mexico, this "act of unparalleled outrage on Mexico" as Col. Benton called it, were so suddenly struck down, and so near to each other? It recalled the equally striking & more sudden death of Upshur, Gilmer, & other conspirators in the Texas business, wh[illegible] you will recollect, were killed by the explosion of a monster cannon, which they had blasphemously christened the 'Peacemaker'. — The long-suffering of God with this Nation is beyond all human imagination; only the Father of *Infinite* Mercies could have borne so long with so hypocritical and so corrupt a people. Other nations are awfully involved in guilt, in their treatment of the poor, the weak, the helpless. It remained for America to belie herself, and to outrage all her own professions & pledges to the World, while distancing or at least equalling all other nations in her acts of oppression and cruelty towards those whom she was chiefly bound to protect. Our President, Zachary Taylor, has issued a Manifesto, or Proclamation, forbidding all citizens of U.S. to take any part in this movement;— I do not believe that the present Administration will "sit up o'nights", as the saying is, to carry the procln. into force. One of the principal S. Carolina journals has already openly defied the President, his Proclamation, & his Cabinet, and declares that no American citizen will be deterred by it from giving aid to the struggling cause of *Liberty* and Independence in Cuba - or words to that effect.

You are rather severe, Sir, in what you say of my "brother-republicans" (of France) "bombarding Rome, & murdering its noble citizens," &c. I think you will recognise Lamartine, and those who were chiefly instrumental in the Revolution of 1848, as of quite a different stamp and character from President Buonaparte, and his backers, and his tools. ~~[illegible]~~ Under *their* administration, Guizot has gone back to Paris, [illegible]ee, and I see not why all the others, excepting perhaps Louis Philippe himself, may not do the same. France is in a bad way. Her course toward Mazzini and his noble Romans is detestable for its meanness & trickery, as well as for its baseness. I entirely agree with you that "history does not record a more contemptible and disgraceful transaction." But you will not identify La Martine & his friends, I think, with this transaction. Since the election of Napoleon, my hopes & expectations for France, for the present, have been quite overthrown. It remains to be seen how long it will take to free the French nation from their absurd infatuation for Buonapartes, military glory, & mere names. Each successive Revolution has showed a decided advance; perhaps, for the cause of true liberty, the falling back on Pres. Buonaparte is not worse than the taking up with Louis Philippe was in 1830. The latter was cunning, and long deceived the people; the former appears to be weak, & at any rate exhibits at the very first his [illegible] character, as a foe of popular freedom.

— Since writing the last sentence, the Mail has brought us papers from Boston of this morning, giving the sad intelligence of the defeat of the Hungarians, their submission to the Russian power, the flight of Kossuth, &c. The cause of Hungary, & the resolute character of Bem & Kossuth, had excited a very deep & general sympathy in this country. I would like your opinion of Garrison's leader in a late Liberator, "Kossuth and Jesus." — I notice your suggestion as to sending some Antislavery documents to Mr. Lalor, and shall be on the watch for an opportunity of doing so. — Should you be able to give me any of the statistics (of which you speak) of crime since the alteration of your criminal [penal] code, I should feel exceedingly indebted to you, and would endeavour to make a good use of the same. — I feel quite confident that the "Standard" is sent to the "Inquirer", London; the Liberator is not, I believe. — It was not in a duel, as you have probably learned, that Cassius M. Clay killed a man. He was 'stumping' it round the country, at an election contest, a custom which prevails in our Western & So. Western States, but is unknown with us, & resembles your hustings somewhat, I presume; candidates for office & their friends go about together, from place to place, and tell their own story to the voters. I have no doubt that C. M. C. was grossly ill-used, & that he bore it a good while; but he is such a high-spirited & quick-tempered fellow, that it could not be looked for that he would endure insult. He is certainly a rash and unstable man, not fit to be trusted with the management or direction, or scarcely advocacy, of any cause. Yet I believe him [illegible] honest, open, self-sacrificing, - too easily moved by hopes of popularity, indeed - but free from dissimulation & selfishness. — I have heard nothing of the Misses Griffiths for a long while; I know not where they are; — perhaps retired in disgust to their own country. They saw some very correct specimens

of the mean & vulgar spirit existing in some (most) of our people respectin
colored persons. — I understand Joseph Barker has arrived in NewYork but in what direction he has gone I do not know. He will certainly visit Bosto where I hope to see him. It is rather hard for me to realize that his bein willing to stand as a candidate for a seat in Parliament should operate so utterly to his disadvantage. Is it more absurd than, ten years ago it would have appeared, if W. J. Fox had presented himself, or been presented, for a similar honor? And yet I suppose Mr. Fox is among the ablest men in Parliament, and probably a more useful & valuable member than hundre there? It seems to me that J. Barker is just one of those men who are the most useful in any country — not perhaps in Parliament, or in the Government at all — but as a writer, thinker, speaker, aiming incessantly and without discouragement for the instruction and elevation of the humbler and middling classe Perhaps Mr. Garrison spoke, in too unqualified a manner, when he said that "England could but ill spare him, at present". England has too many at work for her best interests to feel, very sensibly, the loss of any *one*: and yet we very often use language like Mr. G.'s to express our sense of the valuable servic which some individual, perhaps no way *distinguished*, has rendered or is rendering to those about him; & thus indirectly to the whole country. — The Unitaria here are making considerable efforts to circulate Dr. Channing's Works in every part of the country. One young man in this town has disposed of over 140 sets; the edition is in *six volumes* (very neat) and is sold for $2 the set. The young man of whom I speak is of English birth, but came to this country (from Loughborough, nea Leicester, England) when a very little boy. He holds the office of Postmaster in Clappville, (a village on the southern border of this town, 4 miles from the centre of the town, where I live), and is also Supt. of the Railroad Station there. His ca is a solitary one, however, I presume, for success in disposing of these books, i a ~~very~~ position not at all favorable, & without having any other time to give to it than the intervals of business would allow. I dont know whether the Unit are doing much of anything else just now. Their paper at New York, the Christia Inquirer, which has recently been enlarged, is a pretty fair paper, & decidedly in advance of the Christian Register, a paper sufficient to sink & stupefy any people. — Where is Russell Carpenter? I hear nothing of his arrival. Was he not to b here in August? I think he is mistaken entirely in supposing the Abolitionists so intolerant, though that is a common opinion of us *among pro-slavery folk*. You wi see how Mr. Garrison & his friends have been attacked & abused for inviting Father Mathew to attend the Celebration of the Anniversary of West India Emancipation.

Cuba. Jerome. Kossuth. Channing's

Ms. B.1.6 v.14 p.4

It is denounced as a most audacious plot to circumvent the good father, and ruin his influence by committing him to the cause & principles of the Abolitionists. Their *sin* was in expecting ~~th~~ the man, who had denounced Amn. Slavery in Ireland, to say the same in America; in expecting that the man, who had called on every Irishman in America to identify himself with the abolitionists, would at least express, *himself*, some sympathy in their cause; in expecting that the man who had asserted that on this subject *none could be neutral*, would not be neutral himself. He has cowered, & slunk away, in the most cowardly manner; and the proslavery crew everywhere are openmouthed, because his treachery & weakness have been exposed. No great things were asked of Mr. Mathew, but he dared not lisp a sound against Slavery. Many doubtless will hold this up to Mr. Carpenter as a signal proof of abolition intolerance; if he is deceived by it, I am much deceived in him. — The columns of the Liberator will prove to you the virulence of the proslavery feeling in this community still. But we have a band of good men and true, aye & of women too, scattered up & down over the land, and an increasing feeling everywhere in behalf of the right. Father Mathew will receive much adulation — is receiving it from the basest & most pro-slavery journals, — but he will lose his influence with the best & truest minds. In this week's Liberator (I am now writing, Saturday the 8th.) is a Letter to Father Mathew by Mr. Garrison. It puts the case in a strong light, & is valuable for its reference to the case of Drs. Cox & Hoby (Baptists) in 1835. — I hope Russell Carpenter will see, inquire, *examine*, & decide for himself; but if he falls in with Dr. Gannett's views, & lends a too easy ear to what is said, & wrongfully said, on that side of the house, as Mr. Hincks did, he will be apt to fall into the same ditch with Mr. Hincks. All I ask of Mr. Carpenter, or any other in a similar situation, is to come amongst us, converse with our men, learn our position and views not from our violent & steadfast enemies but from ourselves; — then he is welcome to hear the other side too, & can judge a righteous judgment. — I confess myself a little surprised that *Dr. Hutton* should still be dwelling upon "the intolerance" of our party. No man has written more keenly or more severely than himself upon some topics & phases of Slavery; witness his letter to the "Inquirer" on H. Clay's Scheme, & his letter to myself on the same subject, a sort of Postscript to the former; Dr. H. too *can* *see* (I think) that we are *bound* not to be tolerant of crime, & especially of the "Sum of all villainies"; and that the necessity is the strongest possible or conceivable, in the corrupt state of public sentiment here, that we should set our faces as a flint against the prevailing idea & belief that a man can be respectable, honorable, just, and Christian, while defending the rightfulness, justice, & Christianity of Slavery, or inflicting its manifold wrongs upon his fellowmen, the equal children of GOD. The evil is so great, so *omnipresent*, so terrible, that we must take this stand of ***no Compromise*** with the abomination, or we must cease entirely to labor with any hope or probability of producing any effect. The Abolitionists have been censured, from the very beginning, in just this very way. Several successive attempts have been made to conduct the anti-slavery cause in an *inoffensive* manner, I mean in a manner acceptable to the prevalent tastes & ideas of our people, and every one has failed, utterly failed, and been abandoned, and their projectors & supporters have gone back into pro-slavery connexions & operations, thus showing their true characters, as faithless friends, or disguised enemies. *One thing I know*, that this very Antislavery fidelity, which is everywhere spoken against as *intolerance*, *abuse*, *fanaticism*, is that which, under GOD, has waked up this lethargic people to some faint perception of the wickedness they are daily committing, which has raised the Anti-*slavery* cry so loud & strong & true in all parts of the land, & which has made it the chief question in discussion & interest amongst us. After the way which our denouncers (who are no other than the slaveholders & their sworn allies) call *fanaticism & intolerance*, so have we served the God of our fathers, and the cause of Humanity, Justice, & Freedom. — How long, oh! how long will men like Dr. Hutton doubt! Let him ponder the magnitude of the Crime, the corruption of the popular conscience, the powers leagued against us in Church and State, and he will not wonder that we feel as if the command were veritably addressed to us, "Cry aloud! *Spare not*! lift up your voice as a trumpet, and show this people their transgressions and their sins."

I know very little of the NewYork Vigilance Committee, to which you refer; but I do not suppose it to be a "*Society for assisting Slaves to escape*" in the sense in which I think you understand it. They employ, so far as I know, no travelling agents, & use no means to induce slaves at home to run away. The Vig. Comtees are local bodies, so far as I am acquainted with them, existing quite independent of each other in the cities and larger towns, with a view of giving aid to fugitives as they pass along. They are to a considerable extent, and in some places entirely, sustained by the colored people. We have thought them a very useful instrumentality; and something of the kind seems absolutely necessary in places on the great routes which fugitives must take, or *near* which, at least, they must go. It is no part of their plan, so far as I am acquainted with them, to set on foot schemes like that of Capt. Drayton and the "Pearl", but to see that actual fugitives, when in their vicinity, receive the aid, shelter, & protection they need; and also, in case of any law-proceedings, to see that the fugitives are suitably defended, I do not consider that these Associations or Committees "involve the practice of deceit". They are openly announced, hold public meetings, &c. It is obvious however that they afford facilities, to such as may be ~~supp~~ inclined so to use them, for setting schemes on foot to "decoy", as the word is, slaves away. And, in view of a strict morality, it would not be easy to show wherein the act of aiding a fugitive at your own door, differs from that of going to his to furnish ~~him~~ the means of doing what they nearly all eagerly desire to do. — In justice to these Committees I ought to say, I do not remember ever to have heard of their engaging in any general measures for getting slaves away; they confine themselves, so far as I know, to the particular cases which come directly in their way. — Moreover, they are not possessed of funds to enable them to carry on any very extensive schemes.

Boston, September 11th. 1849. I had fixed upon yesterday to come to Boston, to enter anew upon the General Agency of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Soc.; but I had an additional summons — a very sad one — occasioned by the death of my sister's only child (with cholera infantum). It has been & still is a very sickly year (summer) in this country; — in addition to the Asiatic Cholera, which has been very fatal in many places, we have Cholera Morbus, Dysentery, &c. in aggravated forms. — This was a little girl of but 14 months, but one we all loved dearly — she (with her mother & nurse) had passed nearly a month with us this summer at Leicester. I would say more of her case to you, but time and room are both wanting. — This morning I learned that Mr Russell Carpenter had arrived here — has been here 2 or 3 weeks at least & has now gone into the State of New York. I have nothing, by him, from you, as I expected from what you said; but I have a brief note from R. D. Webb of Dublin, which, from what he says, I conclude came through your hands. Mr Webb says he had been reading a number of my letters to you, & expressed himself pleased therewith. I hope I shall not be made vain by the kind & favourable ~~interest~~ estimate you & other Bristol friends and such men as Mr. Webb, put upon my letters. I ~~can~~ honestly lay claim to this merit in them, if it can properly be called a merit — viz. that I mean to tell you only the truth; exaggerating nothing, & setting nothing down in malice. Yet, with all this, my views may be unsound & mistaken; I am the more desirous therefore of supporting them by the reasonings & judgment of others, — & usually have, as you may have perceived, some facts, or figures, or good authority to back me. — Mr. Webb says Mr. Lalor "thinks me uncharitable" in what I said of Mr Hincks. I am sorry to hear it; because I know I was not uncharitable; my feelings, in Mr. Hincks's case, were wholly those of pity, or rather grief. I rejoiced to see him in America. I did all I could to aid him (I know it was not much), but he knew it was respectfully & cheerfully done. When I fo

him
^keeping himself aloof from Mr. Garrison, whom in the Inquiries he had so complimented, aloof from t
cause, the justice & Christianity & necessity of which he had so ably proved in the same pages, aloof
from the Abolitionists and their office, to which he was repeatedly invited, I was confounded, mortif
and grieved. I ~~could not~~ *calmly* find myself *deceived* in a man, on whom I had placed such
an estimate as I had on him; I told you the *facts*, and my own feelings. I have expressed the same
to Mr. Garrison. But Mr. G., who saw & felt it all, has never censured Mr. Hincks, ~~or~~ in any wa
commented upon his non-committal course while here — if that can be called *non-committal*, whe
there appears to ~~have~~ be such a readiness to eulogise, some of the bitterest enemies of the Antislavery cause
which Boston, at least, holds. — And now see how Theobald Mathew has been compelled to toe the Slave
holders' mark! And because the Abolitionists show his inconsistency, and out of his own mouth prov
his cowardice, they are howled upon, on every side, as so intolerant, & uncharitable! All the while we hea
not a syllable of the *intolerance* (not to say *rank despotism*, equal in spirit to that which wields the knout, & banishes to Si
of that accursed Power which shuts up Father Mathew's lips, and makes Mr. Hincks silent as the grave *here* o
topics which he eloquently & warmly treated in England. — But I not only *grieve* at Mr. Hincks's course; I cens
it as *weak*; I condemn it as *wrong*; and is it "uncharitable" to pronounce such a judgment, when truth
imperatively demands it? I appeal to Mr. Lalor, if it be. — Only this night I have received a letter from a Unitarian
Minister in Worcester County, in a town where I recently lectured, *admitting as true* all I said of the proslavery
character of the great body of the American Church, & expressing his shame at the fact. Was I "uncharitable" in
bearing such a testimony against them? *I told the truth of them*; alas! *not one tithe of the truth* did I tell! —
n't have done as Mr. Hincks did so quietly & obscurely, and as Father Mathew had more conspicuously done, b

thousand times told. — But if people do not see & feel
this duplicity, or cowardice, or "fear of the folk", whatever it may be,
as I do, why they can't be expected to come to the same conclusions. I
would fain write you much more — but how can I, now? — Mr. Webb thinks
a more fitting person than yourself could not have been selected to draw out Mr.
Coffin's stories of antislavery lore. — I have also a note from Mr. Joseph
Lupton of Leeds, sent to his brother John who is now in New York, I believe, and
whom I did not see (to my regret) when he was in Boston — I being in *Leicester*.
Hoping soon to hear of your own & your daughter's good health
Respectfully yours. *Saml. May Jr.*

John B. Estlin Esqre.
47 Park Street.
Bristol.
(England.)

Prepaid
Steamship, Sept. 12.

AMERICA PAID SP25 1849 L'POOL

19

BRISTOL SP26 1849 A